

# HOOVER INSTITUTION Newsletter

Summer 2005



Panelists discuss preventive force on the *Uncommon Knowledge*™ television program. From left are host Peter Robinson, Hoover senior fellow Victor Davis Hanson, Anne-Marie Slaughter of Princeton University, and Stephen Stedman of Stanford University.

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## UNCOMMON KNOWLEDGE™ PANEL TACKLES PREVENTIVE FORCE ISSUES DURING CONFERENCE

The Hoover Institution's *Uncommon Knowledge*™ television program was a special feature of the Preventive Force Conference, May 25–27, at the Hewlett Foundation in Menlo Park.

The two-day conference was sponsored by the Hoover Institution, the Hewlett Foundation, and Stanford University's Institute for International Studies.

Practitioners, scholars, and officials experienced in international security affairs met to discuss the issue of preventing threats to security through the use of force. The gathering was the outgrowth of discussion and consider-

ation of the Bush administration's National Security Strategy, published in 2002. The strategy argued that, in the twenty-first century, it is necessary for the United States not merely to defend itself from attacks but to use military force to prevent terrorist threats and the use of weapons of mass destruction.

A volume based on the proceedings from the conference, and on additional meetings in Washington, D.C., and in Europe, is scheduled for publication.

On May 26, participants and attendees from the conference adjourned to the Hoover Institution, where they

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## HOOVER LAUNCHES NEW SERIES WITH BOOK DEBUT IN D.C.

The debut of *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11*, by the Honorable Richard Posner, on June 7 in Washington, D.C., signaled the launch of a new and timely book series by the Hoover Institution Press.

The Hoover Studies in Economics, Politics and Society series is a set of single-author books, edited by Hoover fellows Peter Berkowitz and Tod Lindberg. Books in the series are typically smaller than larger, so-called edited volumes, which usually have a number of contributors and one editor. The new series offerings are also designed to be timely and accessible.

Judge Posner's book was copublished by the Hoover Institution and Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Events on June 7 included a book-signing party, during which Posner discussed highlights of the book.

Also on June 7, Posner met with the  
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## FREE AGAIN! LIBERATION AND SOVEREIGNTY: AUSTRIA, 1945–1955

Exhibit features work of Erich Lessing; conference documents rebirth of Europe

The extraordinary period of rebirth in Europe following World War II has been captured in an exhibit on display until August 20 at the Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion. The exhibit features the work of Erich Lessing, an eminent Austrian photographer who documented everyday life and politics in postwar Europe.

The Hoover Library and Archives and the Austrian National Library organized the exhibit to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Austria's State Treaty and regained sovereignty.

In conjunction with the exhibit, the Hoover Institution and the Austrian consulate in Los Angeles hosted a conference at Hoover entitled "Political

Neutrality in Europe: Austria, Switzerland, and Sweden" on May 2.

Lessing, now 83 years of age, traveled to Hoover to mount the exhibition. His work has been published in *Life*, *Paris Match*, *Picture Post*, and *Quick Magazine*. Other works in the exhibit include posters from the Hoover Library and Archives and the Austrian National Library. (See [www.hoover.stanford.edu/hila/pavilionexhibit.htm](http://www.hoover.stanford.edu/hila/pavilionexhibit.htm) for examples of the photographs and posters.)

The Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion at the Hoover Institution on the Stanford University campus is open Tuesday through Saturday, 11 a.m. through 4 p.m. For additional information, please contact the Hoover Institution Archives, 650-723-3563, or [www.hoover.org/hila](http://www.hoover.org/hila). Group tours are available.

The following presentations were made by Hoover fellows and guest speakers at the conference:

"From Occupation to State Treaty: The Origins of Austrian Neutrality," by Hoover senior fellow Norman Naimark; "Austrian Neutrality: The Status Quo," by Martin Weiss, Austrian consul general in Los Angeles; "What's Wrong with Swiss Neutrality?" by Hoover visiting fellow Hans Halbheer, CBE, and member, Advisory Council, Swiss American Foundation; "Sweden: From Neutrality to Military Nonalignment," by Tomas Rosander, Swedish consul general in Los Angeles; "Still a Powder Keg: The European South East," by Erhard Busek, special coordinator, Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe; and "Friedrich Von Hayek's Efforts to Rejuvenate Austrian Economics, 1945–1955," by Hoover research fellow Kurt Leube.

The prospects for Social Security reform were discussed by Robin Toner, *New York Times* domestic correspondent, in a media fellow seminar titled "The Politics of Social Security" on May 3. In her 20 years at the *Times*, Toner has covered four presidential campaigns, numerous congressional and state elections, and scores of legislative battles on issues from health care to civil liberties. Never during this time, Toner said, has she seen such levels of political polarization on the Hill as now.

Toner compared and contrasted the current process of reforming Social Security with the overhaul of Medicare in 2003. Although reforming Medicare was difficult, Toner said, certain factors—members of Congress who could mediate, incentives for members of Congress to act, and the American Association of Retired Persons viewing it favorably—helped it along. Those factors, she said, do not exist now. "The legislative path of

## HOOVER MEDIA FELLOW ROBIN TONER DISCUSSES FACTORS IN SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM

a bill [to change Social Security] is hard to see due to all the obstacles," Toner said.

Toner noted in concluding that people prefer a balance of risk and security. From the beginning, she said, in the efforts to privatize Social Security, there has been difficulty addressing concerns of citizens.

Toner, the national political correspondent at the *New York Times* from 1989 through the 1992 election, was the first woman to hold that position at the newspaper. She also served as chief of correspondents on the national desk and as congressional correspondent. In addition, Toner writes for the paper's other sections, including the *Times Book Review* and the *New York Times Magazine*. Before joining the *Times*, Toner was a political re-

porter for the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*.

More than 100 of the nation's top journalists have visited the Hoover Institution recently and interacted with Hoover fellows on key public policy issues, including

Jay Ambrose, *Scripps Howard News Service*, May 2–7

Adib Farha, freelance Middle East analyst, May 9–13

Gabriel Schoenfeld, *Commentary*, May 9–13

Carl Cannon, *National Journal*, May 16–20

David Kaplan, *Newsweek*, May 16–20

Michael Judge, *Wall Street Journal*, June 6–10

John Batchelor, WABC, June 6–19

## 'AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP' EXHIBIT DRAWS THOUSANDS; RENEWS TIES BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND POLAND

The “American Friendship: Herbert Hoover and Poland” exhibit that is now touring Poland is drawing huge crowds in the cities in which it’s being displayed.

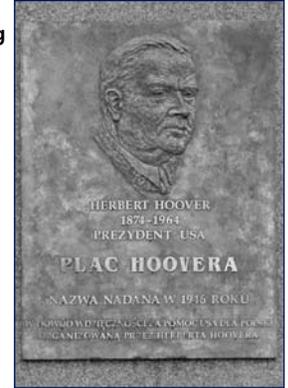
The exhibition, which has been in Warsaw, Lodz, and Posnan, opened in Krakow on July 4 with a ceremony funded by the United States ambassador to Poland. In early September it will move to Wroclaw. Other major Polish cities, as well as museums in Chicago and New York, have offered to host the exhibition before it returns to California in early 2006.

Also as a result of this exhibition, Polish authorities are restoring the monument, which had once stood in Warsaw, honoring Herbert Hoover

and the United States. For the Poles, the knowledge of Hoover’s efforts to aid them during the trying times leading up to, during, and after World War II was suppressed for many decades. As a Polish visitor said, “Thank you for unveiling another camouflaged—by the community—chapter of our history. Please bring us more...testimonies to fill the gaps of our history.”

For decades, Hoover was to the Poles and to millions of Europeans a symbol of faith, charity, and compassion, helping where there had been no hope and life seemed unbearable. The exhibition, containing many items from the Hoover Institution Archives, illustrates Herbert Hoover’s commit-

This plaque, commemorating Herbert Hoover’s assistance to Poland, is now on display in Poznan, Poland.



ment to the survival and well-being of Poland throughout his life as a private citizen, statesman, president, and, above all, dedicated humanitarian.

The Warsaw exhibition and accompanying catalog were made possible by a generous gift from the Taube Family Foundation. The exhibition’s appearances in other Polish cities are made possible by generous gifts from Henrietta Fankhauser and the American Embassy in Warsaw.

## NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS FELLOWS PRESENT RESEARCH SEMINARS

“In a time of increased and varied global tensions, asymmetric threats, and overtaxed resources, the synergy gained by effective interagency cooperation at all levels of endeavor is essential,” said National Security Affairs Fellow lieutenant colonel Tucker Mansager, U.S. Army, in his seminar “The Interagency Process at the Tip of the Spear: Lessons Learned from Afghanistan,”\*based on a paper he wrote by the same name, on February 10. Tucker noted that common problems are involved in intragovernment cooperation in conducting U.S. foreign policy and offered lessons learned from his command in Afghanistan during Operation Ensuring Freedom.

The first problem Mansager identified is the difficult “span of authority,” in which the joint force commander must determine how to coordinate Joint Operations Area policy and operations with authorities from several other governments. Other differences noted by Mansager are cultural differences among government entities and the question of who has authority in a given country or operation.

From lessons he has learned, Mansager suggested placing senior military and diplomatic leaders in close proximity to

one another. “Proximity [makes] it easier to work on building consensus,” Mansager said, which was his next suggestion. He also suggested creating an embassy interagency planning group to act as a conduit between the military and the embassy. In addition, he recommended practicing “shuttle diplomacy” to build consensus with senior United States diplomats in other parts of the region. The final lesson to be learned, Mansager said, is to recognize the role personalities play in the success or failure of an operation.

Other National Security Affairs Fellows who presented seminars include Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Yoo, with the U.S. Marine Corps, who spoke on the “U.S. Military Transformation: Balancing the Reality of Today with the Uncertainty of Tomorrow” on March 17; Lieutenant Commander Scott Tait, with the U.S. Navy, who discussed “Chess & Weichi—U.S. China Policy in the 21st Century” on March 24; and Lieutenant Colonel Kevin Wooton, with the U.S. Air Force, “Chinese Views on National Security: Implications for the U.S. Air Force” on March 31.

The National Security Affairs Fellows Program allows military personnel to pursue intensive, independent research on topics relevant to their service careers.

*\*The views expressed in the seminar are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. government.*

## TRUE CONSUMER-BASED ‘OWNERSHIP SOCIETY’ IS KEY TO REDUCING HEALTH COSTS, SAYS HOOVER FELLOW SCOTT ATLAS



|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| FELLOW       | Scott W. Atlas   |
| TITLE        | Senior Fellow and Professor of Radiology and Chief of Neuroradiology at Stanford University Medical School   |
| RESEARCH     | Public policy in health care; methods to increase direct patient payments for health care so that free market effects can play out on prices; the effects of the changing health-care marketplace on technology-based innovations in medicine, with special emphasis on the effects of managed care on expensive technologies involved in emerging medical applications  |
| PUBLICATIONS | Editor, <i>Power to the Patient: Selected Health Care Issues and Policy Solutions</i> , Hoover Institution Press, 2005; editor, <i>Magnetic Resonance Imaging of the Brain and Spine</i> , the best-selling, leading textbook in the field; editor of the journal <i>Topics in MRI</i> ; former associate editor of the journals <i>Radiology</i> and <i>Journal of Magnetic Resonance Imaging</i> and a member of the editorial boards of the <i>American Journal of Neuroradiology</i> and <i>Magnetic Resonance Imaging</i> |
| AFFILIATIONS | Stanford University School of Medicine and the Hoover Institution  |
| DEGREES      | M.D. degree, University of Chicago School of Medicine; B.S. degree, biology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  |

**Q: A day doesn't go by that health care, health-care system problems, health-care financing, are in the news. As a physician, what is your view?**

**A:** Health-care reform is in the air. Unanimous dissatisfaction with the current system on the part of patients, business, insurers, and physicians has placed the U.S. health-care system on the front pages and certainly among the top few issues in domestic policy discussions.

**Q: Is there a particular problem you focus on when this topic arises?**

**A:** Most worrisome, much discussion centers on more government control and bigger bureaucracies to satisfy an attitude of entitlement—that health care should be highly advanced, fully accessible for all, and paid for by “someone else”—regardless of whom.

In the present system, patients are isolated from paying directly for their care by the third-party payer. Con-

sumers do not even consider cost because of the illusion that someone else is paying. Meanwhile, bureaucrats own health care and control the decisions by controlling the money.

**Q: What do you recommend?**

**A:** Empowering the American people to direct their own health care must center on giving patients control of the money: The administration's vision of the “ownership society” should extend to health care. Direct spending from patient to doctor for the great bulk of medical care is an essential remedy for health-care costs. Prices come down when the patient is the customer.

**Q: Do you think there should be total, universal coverage?**

**A:** Universal coverage is a laudable goal but not for the reasons many assume. For the uninsured, lack of access to top-notch medical care is not the issue.

Reduced overall cost to the system via insuring the uninsured is also not the issue. And we will not debate the idea that a significant portion of uninsured persons simply *choose* not to pay for insurance rather than find themselves unable to do so because of straitened circumstances. Data show that the major benefits of universal insurance are preventive care and health outcomes probably improving for

those who now lack insurance. Those goals are unquestionably desirable.

**Q: There are a number of proposals to institute universal care. What do you think of them?**

**A:** The top-down, essentially statist control of medical care based on government vouchers, such as that proposed by Ezekiel Emanuel and Victor R. Fuchs in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, represents a somewhat naive and potentially hazardous approach to medical-care costs. They propose government vouchers for all health care, and with them the creation of a new, extremely powerful, government-controlled health-care bureaucracy.

**Q: Wouldn't a voucher system be a good idea, particularly for the individual patient?**

**A:** Although the voucher gives the appearance of individual responsibility, there is no substance to it. "Government vouchers for all health care" as proposed by Emanuel and Fuchs will transfer virtually all control to the politicians (directly or indirectly through government boards) for the entire health-care system. That system would let government bureaucrats determine which benefits are insurable, decide which diseases, ailments, and injuries are worthy of government subsidies, and dictate how and what amount health-care providers are paid.

We need only look at how government actually handles these issues to see how untenable this is. When government specifies which benefits are

insurable, the state mandates services that many people would never buy if free to choose. If government dictates which diseases are worth government subsidies, are we ready for a national debate over covering abortions? On one hand, why shouldn't they be provided for poor women? On the other hand, should government require Catholics and others who oppose abortion to pay taxes to support it?

Are we also thinking of giving government complete authority over how health-care providers are paid? We all must realize how government-administered price setting has already distorted health-care decisions and failed to control costs.

In addition to the alarming authority given politicians, there is little reason to believe these plans will lower expenditures. Government voucher systems covering all medical care will in no way attack the basic source of unwanted cost growth—the third-party payer system, which shelters patients from making cost-conscious decisions, produces massive administrative costs, and induces artificial pricing.

**Q: These are not small problems. From your point of view, would vouchers also affect quality?**

**A:** I think there are good reasons to believe a voucher system will lower quality (an inevitable result of more government interference in areas where it has little expertise and should stay at the periphery).

The basic assumption that government is responsible for providing

medical care must finally be scrutinized and debated. Are not food, housing, and clothing just as important in the long run as medical care? On the same principle, should they not also be provided to everyone?

**Q: That's the argument made quite often by activists and many average patients who are concerned about reform proposals.**

**A:** Part of the concern, I think, is about medical information transparency. And, yes, medical information transparency is imperfect between patient and doctor. But on what basis does that lead to the conclusion government is the answer?

It would seem that Americans would not desire a complete totalitarian state, a Big Brother protectorate. Yet that is the path we contemplate.

As a physician, a patient, and an independent and thinking citizen, I would be naive to believe in a beneficent government capable of all good things. It is disturbing to give the government such unprecedented authority over our most important personal decisions and individual rights.

**Q: So your conclusion would be ...**

**A:** More government control over my health care and that of my family is simply unacceptable. In my profession, that would be termed the ultimate case of malpractice.

*This Q and A is based on an op-ed column published April 24, 2005, in the Washington Times.*

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## HOOVER INSTITUTION'S 2005 SPRING RETREAT PRESENTATIONS FEATURE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, AMERICA'S FUTURE

The Hoover Institution's 2005 Spring Retreat, April 24–26, opened with analysis and commentary on democracy in the Middle East by scholar Fouad Ajami at a dinner on Sunday, April 24.

In "The Autumn of the Autocrats," Ajami analyzed the status of democracy in countries in the Middle East. He said that after recent extensive travels throughout several countries in the Middle East, including Qatar, Iraq, Kuwait, and Jordan, he believes that democracy is taking hold in this region. "There's a healthy debate in the Arab world today," Ajami said.

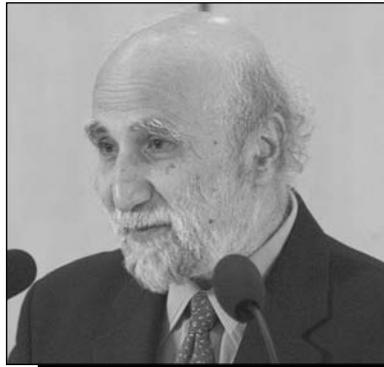
In Ajami's view, "George W. Bush is the Christopher Columbus of political liberty in the Arab world—like Christopher Columbus looking for a route to India and ending up in new world, so [President] Bush went to Iraq looking for weapons of mass destruction and ended up finding a democracy." Ajami is the Majid Khadduri Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. He is also a contributing editor to *U.S. News & World Report*, a member of the editorial board of *Foreign Affairs*, and a consultant to CBS News.

Mixing humor and bracing insight, *New York Times* columnist David Brooks offered his thoughts on "America in 2050: The World We'll Leave Our Children" before dinner on April 25.

The future begins now, he said, with the population decline in Europe and Russia and its consequences of an aging citizenry and fewer workers. At the same time, economic change whipping through other parts of the world will likely cast China, India, and the United States as the top three economies, in that order, in 2050.

He also offered comments about current and near-term American politics and economics. "We now have the situation where both parties have failed to deal with problems," Brooks said. "The American people will do something, and it likely will be a saner version of Ross Perot or Arnold Schwarzenegger. Over the next 50 years, I do think we have a country that will be stronger and deliver the good life for its people."

Speakers at the plenary sessions, coming from government, education, and the media, offered knowledgeable analyses of political, economic, and cultural issues.



Fouad Ajami

Former undersecretary of international affairs in the U.S. Treasury John Taylor, a Hoover senior fellow who was on leave to serve in that post, spoke on the "U.S. International Economic Policy Agenda." He outlined three areas on which United States international economic policy should concentrate: increasing economic growth in the United States and around the world, increasing economic stability, and, finally, supporting our foreign policy. Overall, he reported, that the United States is performing well. "If you look at

the results there has been tremendous progress, tremendous accomplishments under remarkably difficult circumstances, that is continuing right now, with some challenges ahead," Taylor said.



David Brooks

Recently appointed Distinguished Visiting Fellow Spencer Abraham, who served as U.S. secretary of energy, provided an overview of the "Global Energy Race: Meeting the World's Energy Crises and Challenges." Abraham warned that although energy demands are increasing, the best sources have been tapped. To forestall negative prospects, Abraham suggests including nuclear power in planning to meet increasing demands.

In "Profligacy and Power: America's Strategic Choices," Kori Schake, who recently served as director for defense strategy and requirements at the National Security Council, spoke on the strategic defense choices of



John Raisian

the Bush administration. She believes that the Bush administration's choices in regard to defense are "good not only for the country but for international order." In establishing a good set of rules, Schake said, Bush has chosen to place the United States at the forefront, which makes U.S. friends and allies nervous. The president, she said, believes that the United States needs to promote democracy around the world.

The difficulty the executive and legislative branches have in approving judges has been going on for about four years, said

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former U.S. attorney general Edwin Meese, in his remarks on “Congress and Judicial Appointments.” Meese, a Hoover distinguished visiting fellow, discussed the reasons for the delay in the process of judicial appointments. “The key issue that really underlies this whole controversy, and underlies a lot of the controversies, generally, that have to do with the courts today,” Meese said, “is, what is the role of a federal judge under our Constitution?”

The state of the world post-9/11 was discussed by Hoover fellow Ken Jowitt in his speech “Democracy, Destabilization, Disintegration.” “Perhaps an untidy world, largely unrelated though significant issues, dealt with largely though not exclusively in an ad hoc manner is preferable,” said Jowitt “to a world of ideological clarity, military majesty, and a sense of national destiny.” Jowitt, the Pres and Maurine Hotchkiss Senior Fellow at Hoover, questioned whether the attempts to create a world of ideological sameness is best. One issue he raised is the difficulty of establishing democracy in countries where the tradition has not existed before.

Andrew Rich, assistant professor of political science at City College of New York, in “Think Tanks, Public Policy, and the Politics of Expertise,” examined how public policy centers, or “think tanks,” have formed and how they have influenced society. “Conservatives,” Rich said, “have defined the agenda.”

Calling it a “cautionary tale,” Hoover distinguished visiting fellow Diane Ravitch discussed how New York City mayor Allen Bloomberg’s education reforms are failing the city’s schools in “Bloomberg’s Education Reforms: How Smart Businessmen Can Go Wrong.” Ravitch is also a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a research professor at New York University.

Hoover fellows Larry Diamond, Michael McFaul, and Abbas Milani spoke about the future of Iran and its potential for becoming a democracy. Their concerns include forging a coherent policy toward Iran to halt the development of an Iranian nuclear bomb, to end the regime’s support of terrorist groups, and to help the democratic movement in Iran.

Hoover Library and Archives director Elena Danielson announced a new grant from the Earhart Foundation that will

fund a preservation lab to support the role of the Hoover Archives in preserving history.

In “An Essential American Reading List (or Let’s Make Our Immigrants Read Longfellow),” *Wall Street Journal* editorial features editor Tunku Varadarajan offered 12 publications he believes capture the condition and voice of the United States: the Declaration of Independence, Alexis de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America*, Paul Johnson’s *History of the American People*, the Supreme Court decision *Bush v. Gore*, Milton Friedman’s *Capitalism and Freedom*, Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” speech, Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, Mark Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn*, F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*, Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*, Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick*, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s *Song of Hiawatha*.

In addition to the plenary speakers, Hoover fellows and guest speakers presented conversations on a variety of topics. The first set of conversations included Michael Boskin, Hoover senior fellow, on “The State of the Domestic Economic Policy Agenda”; David Brady, Hoover senior fellow, on “President Bush’s Legislative Agenda: Prospects in the 109th Congress”; Stephen Haber, Hoover senior fellow, on “Why Latin America Has Turned Left—and What It Means for the United States”; and Robert Zelnick, Hoover research fellow, on “Reporters to Jail: Protecting Sources and the First Amendment.”

The next set of conversations included Mary Eberstadt, Hoover research fellow, on “Home-Along America: The Hidden Toll of Day Care, Behavioral Drugs, and Other Parent Substitutes”; Alvin Rabushka, Hoover senior fellow, on “Tax Reform: Reality or Will-o’-the-Wisp?”; Kiron Skinner, Hoover research fellow, on “Secretary Donald Rumsfeld’s Big Achievement: Transforming the Military”; and Paul Sniderman, Stanford professor, on “Affirmative Action and the American People.”

The final set of conversations included Peter Berkowitz, Hoover research fellow, on “The Constitution, the Courts, and the Culture of Freedom”; John Cogan, Hoover senior fellow, on “Social Security Reform: Where Do We Go from Here?”; George Shultz, Hoover distinguished fellow, in “A Conversation”; and Steven Weisman, *New York Times* reporter, on “U.S. Diplomacy in the Second George W. Bush Administration.”



**Kori Schake**



**John Taylor**

# H O O V E R O N T H E A I R

Senior Fellow **Thomas Sowell** was featured on C-SPAN's *Q and A* program, which was nationally broadcast on April 17 and 18. Interviewed at the Hoover Institution by host Brian Lamb, he discussed his life, his work and philosophy, and the numerous books he has published during his career.



**Shelby Steele**, research fellow, discussed race relations with Michael Eric Dyson, the author of the new volume *Is Bill Cosby Right?* on *Nightline* (ABC) on May 26.

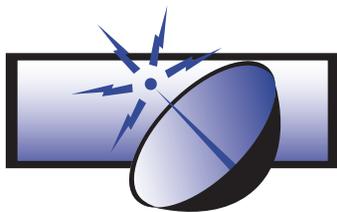


Senior Fellow **Victor Davis Hanson** was a guest on *Talk of the Nation* (NPR) on May 30, discussing the U.S. military, troops who lost their lives in war, and the meaning of Memorial Day.



On May 25, Research Fellow **Bill Whalen** addressed recent actions by California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger on KQED's (NPR, San Francisco) morning news.

He also was interviewed on KGO-TV



(ABC, San Francisco) on May 3 for a news segment on the use of language and semantics by the two major political parties.



Distinguished Visiting Fellow **Spencer Abraham** was featured on *Money & Politics* on Bloomberg News on May 27 discussing U.S. energy policy.



Research Fellow **Robert Conquest**, author of the new book *Dragons of Expectation: Reality and Delusion in the Course of History*, was featured on C-SPAN 2's *BookTalk* program shown on May 15 and 17, April 18. He was interviewed at meeting of the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco by Hoover senior fellow Kenneth Jowitt.



Research Fellow **Dinesh D'Souza** was a part of the *Dennis Miller Show's Varsity Panel* program (CNBC) on April 28, April 29, and May 2. He discussed the situation in the Middle East, politics, elections, terrorism, schools, and culture during the program, which was live from San Jose, Calif.



Research Fellow **David Davenport's** comments on the judiciary and his belief that it is efficacious, though some political groups may not be satisfied with its decisions, as in the case of Terry Schiavo, were discussed on *NOW with Bill Moyers*, (PBS) on March 25. Panelists discussing Davenport's comments included the *Wall Street Journal's* Daniel Henninger, Melanie Kirkpatrick, Rob Pollock, and David Rivkin.

Davenport was interviewed about the Terry Schiavo case on the show *Albom in the Afternoon*, on WJR-AM (ABC, Detroit), hosted by columnist and author Mitch Albom, on March 24.

# H O O V E R I N P R I N T

No one should wish for an overhasty American withdrawal from Iraq. It would be the prelude to a bloodbath of ethnic cleansing and sectarian violence, with inevitable spillovers into and interventions from neighboring countries. Rather, it is time to acknowledge just how thinly stretched American forces in Iraq are and to address the problem; whether by finding new allies (send Condoleezza Rice to New Delhi?); radically expanding the accelerated citizenship program for immigrants who join the army; or lowering the (historically high) educational requirements demanded by military recruiters.

■ **Niall Ferguson**, senior fellow, *New York Times*, May 24

There are many paths to development. The key is creating an institutional structure derived from your particular cultural institutions that provide the proper incentives—not slavishly imitating Western institutions. Second, the world is constantly changing in fundamental ways.

The basics of economic theory are essential elements of every economy, but the problems countries face today are set in new and novel frameworks of beliefs, institutions, technologies, and radically lower information costs than ever before. The secret of success is the creation of adaptively efficient institutions—institutions that readily adapt to changing circumstances.

■ **Douglass C. North**, senior fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, April 7

Dramatically increasing opportunities for the study of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Islam in our universities is the right thing to do, to advance the cause of learning and America's interest in training people who can contribute to the spread of liberty abroad. We owe it to our universities to demand that they live up to their responsibility.

■ **Peter Berkowitz**, research fellow, and **Michael McFaul**, Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow, *Washington Post*, April 12



No Child Left Behind will not come up for renewal until 2007. Until then, there will be griping by those who don't like the new federal role in education and those who don't want to see children tested every year. But it seems to be safe to predict that the next renewal will strengthen the law rather than weaken it. After all, annual testing is hardly a new idea in American education. Not just reading, math, and science, but history, too, is likely to become part of the NCLB mandate for testing. What is valuable about the law is its insistence that districts measure their progress in helping the children who can't meet state standards. Raising achievement across the board will be hard—but it is not mission impossible.

■ **Diane Ravitch**, distinguished visiting fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, April 25



Thomas Henriksen, a Hoover senior fellow, has been appointed a senior fellow at the United States Joint Special Operations University (JSOU).



**Thomas Henriksen**

Established in 2000, JSOU focuses on the educational needs of special operations forces at the executive senior and intermediate leader levels. It enjoys a direct reporting relationship with and is subordinate to the United States Special Operations Command.

Henriksen joins the adjunct cadre of functional experts who take up research projects of interest to the Special Operations Forces. His current research focuses on the methods of Special Operations Forces and counterterrorism.



Diane Ravitch has been named the 2005 recipient of the United Federation of Teachers' John Dewey Award for Excellence in Education.

A Hoover distinguished visiting fellow, Ravitch is a member of the Koret Task Force at the Hoover Institution.

Ravitch, the Research Professor of Education at New York University and an outspoken critic of Mayor Michael Bloomberg's stewardship of the New York City public schools, was honored on May 14 at the UFT's annual spring education conference.



**Diane Ravitch**

Ravitch was an assistant secretary of education in the administration of President George H.W. Bush and an appointee to the National Assessment Governing Board under President Bill Clinton.

She is the author of eight books, including *The Language Police*, *Left Back*, *The Troubled Crusade*, and *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973*. She also has edited fourteen books and written nearly 400 articles and reviews for scholarly and popular publications.



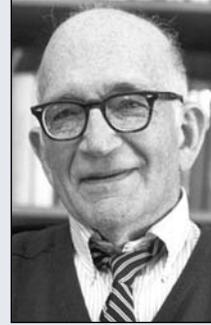
Martin Anderson, the Keith and Jan Hurlbut Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, has been appointed to the Defense Advisory Committee on Military Compensation by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

The committee was recently established to provide advice and recommendations to the secretary of defense regarding matters pertaining to military compensation.

The committee, which met for the first time on May 11, is charged with identifying approaches to balance military pay and benefits to sustain re-



**Martin Anderson**



**Sidney Drell**

cruitment and retention of high-quality personnel, as well as a cost-effective military force.



Sidney Drell, a Hoover senior fellow and deputy director emeritus

of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, is one of five recipients of the Heinz Family Foundation's \$250,000 Heinz Awards for his efforts to limit "the threat of nuclear annihilation while assuring our nation's adequate defense."

Drell is a noted Bay Area physicist, arms control advocate, and veteran consultant on scientific and intelligence matters to the U.S. government.



Taiwanese foreign minister Chen Tan Sun visited the Hoover Institution on June 21.

During his visit, he met with Hoover fellows and toured the Institution's archives.

Sun also gave presentations in San Francisco and visited other cities on the West Coast during the week.

Elena Danielson, director of the Hoover Archives, showed Sun materials related to and from Taiwan history during a tour of the library and archives.

Sun also met with members of the Stanford Taiwanese Student Association.

## PREVENTIVE FORCE CONFERENCE

*continued from page 1*

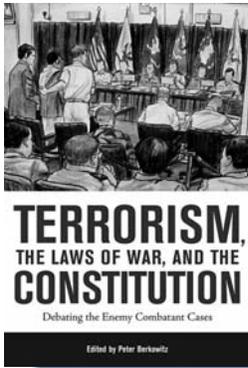
watched the *Uncommon Knowledge*™ program "The Best Defense: Preventive War." The program had been taped just

two hours before the Hoover showing and dinner that followed.

Program host Peter Robinson moderated lively discussion by Anne-Marie Slaughter, dean of the School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University; Stephen Stedman, professor of political science at Stanford Univer-

sity; and Victor Davis Hanson, the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow at Hoover, all of whom participated in the conference.

The program will be broadcast beginning July 22 on PBS stations across the United States.



*Terrorism, the Laws of War, and the Constitution*

Edited by Peter Berkowitz

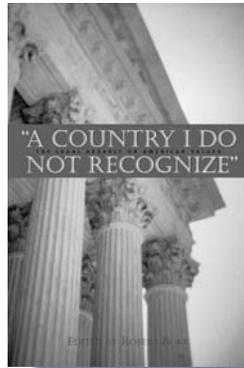
ISBN: 0-8179-4622-5

How does the war against terrorism being battled today affect the laws of war of the United States? In *Terrorism, the Laws of War, and the Constitution* (Hoover Institution Press, 2005), edited by Hoover fellow Peter Berkowitz, the strain the war on terrorism has placed on the rule of law is examined by different experts.

Our modern laws of war are a part of the law of nations that emerged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and developed in accordance with the evolving practices of modern nation-states.

The main difficulty today is that the laws of war were developed with a particular conception of war in mind—involving states with incentives to engage in reciprocal restraint—that does not apply to the conflict with our new adversaries, who control no territory, defend no settled population, hide among and target civilian populations, and seek to acquire and use weapons of mass destruction.

Peter Berkowitz, Hoover research fellow, teaches at George Mason University School of Law. He is co-founder and director of the Israel Program on Constitutional Government and served as a senior consultant to the President's Council on Bioethics.



*“A Country I Do Not Recognize”:  
The Legal Assault on American Values*

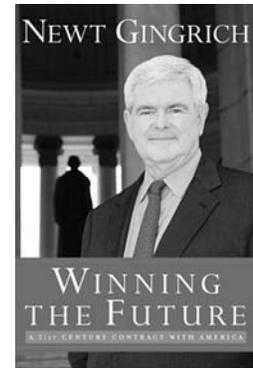
Edited by Robert H. Bork

ISBN: 0-8179-4602-0

During the past forty years, activists have repeatedly used the court system to achieve social and political change. On both the domestic and international fronts, they have accomplished substantive policy results that could not otherwise be obtained through the ordinary political processes of government both in the United States and abroad. In *“A Country I Do Not Recognize”* (Hoover Institution Press, 2005), the contributors show how these legal decisions have seriously undermined America's sovereignty and values.

One essay details how the Supreme Court has taken the law out of the hands of the people and their elected representatives and used it to overthrow or undermine traditional values, customs, and practices through judge-made constitutional law that is divorced from the Constitution. A second contribution examines the legal principle of “universal jurisdiction”—which suggests that any state can define, proscribe, prosecute, and punish certain “international” criminal offenses, regardless of where the relevant conduct took place or the nationality of the perpetrators or victims—and shows how it challenges the American people's authority over their own destiny.

Robert H. Bork has served as solicitor general, acting attorney general of the United States, and a United States Court of Appeals judge. He is also a distinguished fellow at the Hudson Institute and the Tad and Dianne Taube Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution.



*Winning the Future: A 21st Century Contract with America*

by Newt Gingrich

ISBN: 0-8952-6042-5

In the twenty-first century, America could be destroyed. The dangers are manifold: terrorism, judges who think they're God (and who are anti-God), rising economic challenges from China and India, immigrants, and young Americans who know little about American history and values.

Can America survive?

Yes, says Newt Gingrich, and we as Americans can do more: We can create a safer, more prosperous, and healthier America for our children and grandchildren.

How?

By enacting a twenty-first-century contract with America.

When he was Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich issued his first contract with America.

What was the result?

Sweeping reform that shocked Washington and spurred an economic recovery for the nation, including the first major tax cut in sixteen years; real, lasting welfare reform; and four years of balanced budgets.

Newt Gingrich is a distinguished visiting fellow at Hoover. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1978. In 1995, he became Speaker of the House and de facto leader of the Republican Party.



*King of Shadows: Essays on Iran's Encounter with Modernity*  
by Abbas Milani

ISBN 1-59584-037-0

*King of Shadows: Essays on Iran's Encounter with Modernity* (Ketab Corp., 2005), written in Farsi, is a collection of published articles by Hoover fellow Abbas Milani.

The articles chronicle the cultural and political development in Iran in the twentieth century as Iranians encountered modernity and developed relations with the West.

Milani is a research fellow and codirector of the Iran Democracy Project at the Hoover Institution.

In addition, he is director of the Iranian Studies Program at Stanford University and a visiting professor in the department of political science.

He is the author of numerous books on Iran including *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Persian Modernity in Iran* (Mage 2004); *The Persian Sphinx: Amir Abbas Hoveyda and the Riddle of the Iranian Revolution* (Mage, 2000); *Modernity and Its Foes in Iran* (Gardon Press, 1998).

Also, *Tales of Two Cities: A Persian Memoir* (Mage, 1996); *On Democracy and Socialism*, a collection of articles coauthored with Faramarz Tabrizi (Pars Press, 1987); and *Malraux and the Tragic Vision* (Agah Press, 1982).

Four recognized and acclaimed publications under the aegis of the Hoover Institution present a wide range of opinions, expert research, and commentary: *Hoover Digest*, *Education Next*, *Policy Review*, and *China Leadership Monitor*. Following are highlights from the three of the publications' spring 2005 releases:

#### *Hoover Digest*

[www.hooverdigest.org](http://www.hooverdigest.org)

- "Social Security: Putting Money in a Safe Place—Our Pockets," by John F. Cogan
- "The War on Terror: Thankless Victory," by Victor Davis Hanson
- Archives: "The Adventures of the ARA in Minsk," by Alexander Lukashuk

#### *Education Next*

[www.educationnext.org](http://www.educationnext.org)

- "The School Lunch Lobby: A Charmed

Federal Food Program That No Longer Just Feeds the Hungry," by Ron Haskins

- "What's for Lunch?: A Restaurant Critic Goes to the School Cafeteria," by Mark Zanger

- "Can Charter Schools Survive Accountability?: Charters as Role Models," by Michael J. Petrilli, and "Don't Tie Us Down," by Theodore R.Sizer

#### *Policy Review*

[www.policyreview.com](http://www.policyreview.com)

- "The Future of Tradition: Transmitting the Visceral Ethical Code of Civilization," by Lee Harris

- "Foreign Law and the U.S. Constitution: The Supreme Court's Global Aspirations," by Kenneth Anderson

- "Defusing Iran's Bomb: How to Make Tehran Pay for Its Nuclear Ambition," by Henry Sokolski

## THE NOT SO WILD, WILD WEST, COAUTHORED BY HOOVER FELLOW, WINS ATLAS FOUNDATION AWARD

The book *The Not So Wild, Wild West*, coauthored by Hoover Institution senior fellow Terry L. Anderson, has won the Sir Antony Fisher International Memorial Award from the Atlas Economic Research Foundation.

The award was made in late April in Miami, Florida, where the foundation held its annual meeting. The Atlas Foundation is known for its efforts in supporting intellectual entrepreneurs worldwide through the establishment of public policy institutes.

Terry L. Anderson is the John and Jean DeNault Senior Fellow at Hoover.

He also is executive director of the Property and Environment Research Center, a think tank focusing on market solutions to environmental problems located in Bozeman, Montana. Coauthor Peter J. Hill is a PERC senior fellow. Both are former economics professors at Montana State University.

The Fisher Award is given annually by the Fairfax, Virginia-based Atlas Economic Research Foundation in honor of its founder, Sir Antony Fisher.

Information about the book is available at [www.sup.org/book.cgi?book\\_id=4854%20%20](http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?book_id=4854%20%20)

## NEW BOOK SERIES

*continued from page 1*

*Washington Post's* editorial board and the Center for Intelligence Research and Analysis, was interviewed on the Voice of America, and discussed the book before an audience at Chapters: A Literary Bookstore.

In *Preventing Surprise Attacks*, Posner scrutinizes the new law governing

United States intelligence—the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004—points out its deficiencies, and offers recommendations to improve and correct it.

Posner sits on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in Chicago and is a senior lecturer at the University of Chicago Law School. He has authored nearly four dozen books and hundreds of articles on matters of public policy.

## UNCOMMON KNOWLEDGE™ CONCLUDES

*Uncommon Knowledge*™, the weekly public affairs program coproduced by the Hoover Institution and KTEH-TV (PBS) in San Jose, concludes a 10-year run with the presentation of the program segments described below.

Hosted by Peter Robinson, Hoover research fellow and Emmy nominee, the program is broadcast by more than 50 PBS stations across the United States. The audio content is carried overseas by National Public Radio International.

Details about each segment are available at the Hoover Institution website, [www.hoover.org](http://www.hoover.org). New programs this season include

- “Tort and Retort: Tort Reform”

**Guests:** David Davenport, professor of law and public policy, Pepperdine University, and research fellow, Hoover Institution; Alan Morrison, senior lecturer in public interest law, Stanford University, cofounder, Public Citizen Litigation Group

- “Inalienable Rites?: Gay Marriage in the Courts”

**Guests:** Terry Thompson, attorney, Alliance Defense Fund; Tobias Barrington Wolff, professor of law, University of California–Davis

- “Hitch-Cocked: Conversation with Christopher Hitchens”

**Guest:** Christopher Hitchens, contributing editor, *Vanity Fair* magazine, author, *Love, Poverty and War: Journeys and Essays*

- “Pay It Forward: Social Security Reform”

**Guests:** Alan Auerbach, professor of economics, University of California–Berkeley; John Cogan, senior fellow, Hoover Institution and professor of public policy, Stanford University

- “Alexander the Great: Alexander Hamilton”

**Guest:** Ron Chernow, author, *Alexander Hamilton*

- “Speak No Evil: Freedom of Speech on Campus”

**Guests:** David Horowitz, president, Center for the Study of Popular Culture; Graham Larkin, professor of art history, Stanford University, and member, American Association of University Professors

- “Love and Marriage: Marriage in Modern America”

**Guests:** Stephanie Coontz, professor of history and family studies, Evergreen State College, and author, *Marriage: A History*; Jennifer Roback Morse, research fellow, Hoover Institution, and author, *Smart Sex*

- “Holding Court: The Legacy of the Rehnquist Court”

**Guests:** Kathleen Sullivan, professor of law, Stanford University; John Yoo, professor of law, University of California–Berkeley

- “The Best Defense: Preventive War”

**Guests:** Victor Davis Hanson, Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution; Anne-Marie Slaughter, dean, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University; Stephen Stedman, professor of political science, Stanford University

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